797 red and yellow sects. The women of Ladák do not wear petticoats.
791 Their dress consists of patoo trousers and a patoo garment in which bodice and skirt or petticoat are joined together. The skirt part of this garment is called "hmadGHak" or hmad-yok", and the bodice part "stotGHak."

776 PHANTOM--hlandey or hlandrey--the name of a class of spirits, supposed to appear in various forms, and then to suddenly vanish out of sight; zumthhrul or zumthhul or chhumthhrul or chhumthhul, as a mirage; namSHet or namSHes, the ghost of a dead person; SHeelok, one returned from the dead. But see "Resurrection."

751: PHYLACTERY--srunga or SHunga. The Buddhists of Ladák obtain
777 from their Lámás, extracts, or texts, from their sacred books, printed on paper or longcloth, etc., these they enclose in a silver or copper casket (kabzóma) worn like a locket. The poorest people wrap them up in paper and tie them to a string worn round the neck or waist. [121] The men sometimes fasten them to their caps, and the women to their headdresses (peyrak). A Buddhist never wears a charm on his arm or wrist as a Hindoo or Mahomedan might do.

[121]

788 PILGRIMAGE--hnasjal or jala. Ladakis go on pilgrimages to Trilóknath, the Manasarwar lake, Jowála Mukhi and other places of Hindoo pilgrimage.

276 PIPE--kanzak, or respectfully zhalzak, a tobacco pipe with a straight stem, about 10 inches long, and with small round bowl. They are made of brass or iron, and sometimes silver plated. This is the pipe of the traveller and of the villagers. Townspeople use the Indian pipe which they call "cheelam" or "gurguri cheelam." The Baltistán pipe, which is also used by Ladakis, is called "roocho-cheelam," or respectfully "doncheelam" "poori" a pipe for conducting water, etc.; "oldong" the windpipe.

595 [123]POLYANDRY--There is no word for this. Polyandry is almost
753 universal among the Buddhists of Ladak. For further information, see under the heading "Marriage." It is said that polyandry induces leprosy, but in Ladak the disease is unknown, though

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhá thum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bridegroom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

arrives, and leads us thither up crooked rocky lanes, through dark alleys, up ricketty ladders, and under low portals, which give rude shocks to our heads or topees. This "very nice room" with its mud walls is about 15 ft. by 18 ft. in size, while its low dirty roof just above our heads, has been stained a beautiful shining mohagany by years of smoke, a process being continued by a fire at the further end, whose acrid fumes, most painful to the eyes, fill the room. To the left a nice large verandah admits fresh air, and appears to be the only clean spot in the room, not excepting our travel-stained selves. While the water for our tea is being boiled, the family produce a black rug, woven from sheeps' hair, and place it on the floor, so that we may both sit and "lay our table" upon it. The family, vastly entertained and entertaining, sit around, consisting of father, son, son-in-law, and one or two ladies whose relationship is not precisely ascertained. We tell them of the road already traversed; they tell us of joys to come. The old grandfather, or *Meme*, is specially interesting as he sits on the verandah, wearing a peculiar type of hat of a fashion only retained by a few of the oldest inhabitants, though still part of the ceremonial dress at weddings. Like a very elongated tea-cosy, it is doubled over to one side in the middle, has a turned-up brim, and was introduced by King Senge Namgyal. The old man is smoking his pipe with such enjoyment, that we are constrained to inquire as to the source of his tobacco, for such relish can hardly be credited to the old metal pipe. He replies that he has gathered the fragrant leaf from the hillside. The Padre having a fellow-feeling with this smoker gives the old man some of his own "Country Life" tobacco to sample. He fills his bowl, and his face lights up as he puffs away at the wonderful new concoction, and assumes a beatific contentment. Taking out his pipe, he surveys it with a smile, for who could have believed even that old friend could have produced such a delightful inhalation.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of supplying for the forced labour on the road, exacted in lieu of taxation from each village.

So we see there is plenty to do even on the roof of the world, and we must not grudge the man of the house his leisure when he sits down to have a restful pull at his hookah, the favourite pipe of the East, passing it round for the other men, and even some of the women, to have a turn. As their hands intervene between their mouths and the mouthpiece, this is not so unhygienic a sharing as it sounds. Sometimes the snuff-box will be passed round, too, and in the villages snuff or ash for this purpose may easily be procured by collecting and burning a kind of broom from the hillside. If your friendly "hubble-bubble" has been left behind, a pipe can easily be arranged by making a hole in the ground, tunnelling a passage into it, then pushing in a hollowed piece of wood as your mouthpiece. Now place your tobacco into the hole, get on your knees, bend down, light up, and there you are.

Let us look at our pigtailed friend as he bends over his pipe. Down the back of his natural-coloured garment is a long greasy mark where his pigtail rubs on it. The pigtail itself is continued by wool when the hair gives out, and his big wide *skerag*, a long woollen sash about six inches wide and six feet long, bound in many turns round the waist with the ends tucked in, is wound over it, so as to keep it in place. This *skerag*, as we have already seen elsewhere, is a repository for many articles, either stuck in the back or depending from the front, or, like the little wooden travelling-cup, placed inside its voluminous folds. Another repository for accommodating the cup or other precious things may be termed the breast-pocket, for it is entered where the coat folds over in front of the chest. But before we leave the pigtail and its greasy mark, we must learn that a Ladaki gentleman likes to have his hair washed about once a month, a process during which he must sit with his head on a wooden support, while his wife or nearest female relation carries out the ablutions with soda

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

some vegetables from the garden, and the man went off in high glee at the success of his expedition.

The next morning we were asked whether the *Skushog* of Trigtse might call upon us. We hastily arranged for an interpreter, for our Superintendent was away, and we were all new to the country; moreover, our guest's language of Central Tibet was quite a different dialect from that of Ladak. He duly arrived, dressed in his official robes and attended by two or three lamas, and was invited into the drawing-room. But he lingered in the hall, and to the Doctor's surprise began to undress. This process continued to such an alarming extent that he was led into the study. Two other ladies had just called to go out with the Memsahib, and great was the surprise of all three when the drawing-room door opened, and the *Skushog* entered. He wore the helmet-like topee, a Chinese type of frock-coat with paired pin-tucks across the back, brown trousers, a pair of bright yellowish socks, and some Chinese-looking attempts at European shoes. Invited to a chair, and the interpreter called, he entered into friendly talk. He announced among other things that he would like to become a Christian, but we did not take this seriously, and pointed out that he could not do that and retain his wealth and power as a *Skushog*. He then intimated that he would like to stay the night, a rather awkward proposition with our limited accommodation, but we said we could give him the verandah. His lamas whispered anxiously together and let him know it was time to go. Meanwhile they had boiled some tea for him on a little fire outside our kitchen in his own pots, as he must not take food of our cooking. After this the Doctor offered him a cigarette, not knowing in his ignorance of the country that it was against the rules. The *Skushog* made violent signs to him to withdraw into the study again, where, away from the eyes of the lamas, he enjoyed his smoke thoroughly. The latter were at last able to get him to go, and withdrew him on to the verandah where he changed

23: Peter E-3 (1933- AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

152 762 593 within him, certainly caused by jealousy of his other brothers for their relations with the common wife.

837 595 684 There are certain instances of extra-marital relations between people in this polyandrous community, but they are highly condemned and heavy sanctions are applied. In a *bagma* marriage, if the woman commits adultery, she is turned out of the house if she is childless, and the brothers choose another wife. If she is with child, she is fined and has to pay out of her personal property. As for the man, the co-respondent, he is beaten and/or has to pay compensation to the legal husbands. In a *magpa* marriage, where the woman is heir to the property, has the care of it and can marry as many men as she desires, infidelity of the wife is the only case in which the husbands can get a divorce. Otherwise, she can divorce them, but not *vice versa*. If the man is the adulterer in such a marriage, nothing is done except in the family where he has committed the adultery. In the case of unmarried people, the woman is usually turned out of the house if she has premarital relations and should attempt to marry the man with whom she has had these relations. If the trespasser is a man, he is treated exactly like an adulterer in the usual *bagma* marriage.

848 597 793 548 276 Illegitimate children are usually hushed up. They are often adopted into some family or are sent to the monasteries as novices, so that nobody knows exactly what their origins are. As far as I could find out, there seems to be no prostitution in Tibet, and husbands suffering from the polyandrous organization do not have that outlet. Something, however, certainly is known about prostitution, for Tibetans, [829] who never smoke, tell you that they do not do so because tobacco was a plant grown with the menstrual flow of a prostitute.

838 As far as I could find out, homo-sexuality is condemned, even in the monasteries, and certainly despised if practised, and I could not find any proof 000 of it. But local Europeans who know the

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

and deafness for certain periods of time. He attributed this to devils which possessed the individual concerned, and he, personally, tried to cure them by cauterization of the head. If this did not help, the patients were advised to visit the lamas, who gave the religious formulas to eat, or carried out exorcisms over them. Chonde showed me his cauterization instruments and a chart which guided him as to where to apply the red-hot irons.

The Reverend Walter Asboe, whose Moravian Mission ran a small dispensary and hospital in the Mission House in Leh, was also informative about nervous ailments in the town. He said that men did come to be cured of impotence, but that they were nearly all physical cases and definitely not mental ones. As it was, it was not living in polyandry which made them impotent, for if the common wife was not to their liking, they could always seek relief with some of the numerous prostitutes that were to be found in Leh. All of these professionals, he said, were Moslems, not Buddhists, and were usually recruited from among the temporary wives, converted to Mohammedanism by the Yarkandi traders, surplus women left over by the polyandry of the Buddhist Ladakis.

The Reverend Asboe had come across no cases of frigidity in women, but, on the contrary, he knew of many cases of nymphomania. Again, this affliction was to be found among the Moslem women converts, never among the polyandrous wives of the Buddhist households. He had also heard that homosexuality was prevalent in the monasteries, and since, he said, Jaeschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* contained all the numerous Tibetan terms for various sexual perversions, it seemed from this that these were widespread throughout Ladak.

Nono Tse-P'hün, as my principal interpreter and informant, was of an opposite opinion. He said that homosexuality was a punishable offence in Kashmiri law, and therefore did not exist in Ladak. It was looked upon with great disfavour anyhow, by the Ladakis, and he felt sure that no one indulged in it, not even in the monasteries. In Tibet, it was another matter, he added, and it was known that it was practised in the large monasteries of Central Tibet, as any monk returning from Lhasa or Shigatse where he had gone for his studies could tell.

With regard to prostitution, this is the place perhaps, to mention what Joseph Gergan once told me about the smoking of tobacco. I had asked him on the 14th October 1938, in Kargil, as we were travelling together towards the Kashmir capital, Srinagar, how it was that in the whole of Tibet and in areas under the cultural influence of that country,

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak
Tibet AJ1

smoking was looked upon as so heinous an offence. He replied that it was because, so the lamas said, tobacco was a weed grown from the menstrual flow of a prostitute who had prayed that it might fertilize a plant that would be the joy of mankind. For this reason, lamas could not think of smoking, and they naturally opposed it in the lay population as well.

c) *Investigation of polyandry along the Leh-Srinagar Treaty Road*

1. *Information gathered at Spituk and Ri-dzong*

At our first halt after leaving Leh, I gathered interesting information concerning polyandry in the central Tibetan provinces from the acting chief abbot of the monastery, who had studied in Lhasa. I shall revert to what he told me when we come to Part II, where I shall deal with the polyandry of Tibet proper.

At Ri-dzong, the Tibetan bandit, Norgyäs, had much to tell me also. He told me a certain amount about the marital customs of those parts of Tibet which he knew personally, but also about those specifically appertaining to Western Tibet. It is these which I shall account for here.

It seemed that my informant was born in Ngari Korsum and had only later in his life taken to banditry. At the age of nine, he was adopted by a lama, the assistant of the Garpön of Gartok, that is of the Tibetan Government official whose residence was in the capital of Ngari Korsum.

The lama's name was De-chen-la (*bDe-Ch'hen-lags*) and he had a sister living with him who was married and had a son, Dön-stob-la (*Don-sTobs-lags*), of the same age as Norgyäs. Although there was a relation of master to servant between the two boys (the lama's nephew being the superior), a very intimate bond was formed between the two. When Dön-stob-la married, Norgyäs was allowed to share the wife with him, and this because the two had become what he called *skyidug-chik-pa* (*sKyid-sDug-gChig-pa*).

This long word has the meaning of "Happiness-Grief-Identical" and such a relation is very often entered into in Tibet between close friends. Norgyäs said that, in his case, it was only a minor variety of the relation because, normally, it is a much more formal and binding connection.

Thus in Tibet, and also in Ladak, two old friends who had known each other for a long time could become *skyidug-chik-pa* in the following way. They make a vow, clasping each other's middle finger, in which they swear to share undividedly everything that they have for the rest of their lives, and even in the next one that awaits them. If

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

ooothe food which is carried by the sheep is eaten up, then there is no need of the carrier, so it is then eaten, the fat tail being considered a great delicacy. Some of these caravans are three years on the road before they reach their homes. Quite a number of these merchants have been to Mecca, and were returning, wearing the green turban which is the mark of a Mecca "pilgrim who has accomplished the 'haj.'"

346 The first monastery we come to is Mulbe. It is in a most commanding position, for it stands on the top of a rock about five hundred feet high.

778 796 276 A short distance before reaching this monastery is a large Buddha, carved on a rock, about thirty feet in height. On our return journey Dr Neve and I came in time to see a very pretty ceremony being performed before it.

There was a sort of maypole erected in front of the figure, decked with coloured paper or rags. Then a troop of thirty children appeared, dressed in bright garments, wearing crowns of flowers, and they were dancing round the pole and singing, reminding one of the maypole dance. Then came a monk, dressed in a white garment like a surplice, with a red fool's-cap on his head. In one hand he carried a Kashmiri fire-pot full of live charcoal and some narcotic mixture of hemp or opium. These fumes he kept inhaling, which made him become very excited. In his right hand he carried a curved sword, which he flourished about in a most dangerous manner. He commenced to dance round the pole, followed by the children. He shouted louder and louder, and twirled about his body faster and faster, while his sword was flashing and slashing about in all directions.

796 276 A man standing by me, whom I knew, who called himself a nobleman, told me in awed tones that this holy man

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

was uttering the words of God. As a matter of fact, he was drunk with his opium fumes and could hardly keep on his feet, and I expect he soon flopped down on the ground, but we were unable to stay to see the show through to the end.

A Trip to Ladakh

000 a friend's house. Personally I possess a bearer who knows this trick, and he always asks me to ask my friends to allow their servants to count over the spoons and forks, etc., before leaving the house, to see, of course, that they have not left anything of their master's property behind.

276 Another custom I discovered of quite a different kind, which interested me.

I saw a coolie sprawling on the road with his mouth on the ground and apparently blowing smoke. On asking what it meant I was told that the man not having brought his hookah was not going to be done out of his smoke. He had made a small tunnel. At one end he had placed his tobacco and lighted it, and was sucking the smoke through the tunnel into his mouth. How one lives and learns!

346 After leaving Mulbe we turned off the caravan road in order to return via Suru under Nun Kun and down the Wardwan nullah.

We passed the monastery of Shergol. It is built into the rock. The windows seem to be in the face of a 406 precipice. The entrance and exit is peculiar, for a basket is let down by a rope, in which the visitor sits and is pulled up—a most excellent arrangement for keeping 133 out undesirables. Our first view of the Suru river was superb, and reminded me of pictures of heaven which I had seen in children's picture books. We were up on a ridge and looked down upon the river where it widened out and was full of islands covered with willow-trees, and giant peaks rising behind and above the nearer hills forming the valley.

492 When we reached the bridge we found that it was far too frail for our ponies. The river itself could not be forded, and was too swift and dangerous to permit of the